

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01573 01 OF 02 211911Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 DODE-00 CU-02 EB-07 /092 W
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R 211530Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 757

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5166

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1573

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE AND AWESTERN PUBLIC OPINION--MARCH 20 SPC MEETING

REF: (A) STATE 58933 (NOTAL) (B) USNATO 1405

SUMMARY: IN MARCH 20 SPC, ALLIES WELCOMED U.S. INITIATIVE TO STUDY PUBLIC OPINION ASPECTS OF CSCE. ALLIES ALSO AGREED STUDY SHOULD COVER GENERAL CSCE THEMES AND SPECIFIC ITEMS IN AGREEMENT. END PRODUCT OF STUDY WOULD CONSTITUTE COMMON FUND ON WHICH ALLIES COULD DRAW IN PRESENTING CSCE RESULTS TO PUBLICS AND PARLIAMENTS RATHER THAN UNIFORM GUIDANCE FOR ALL ALLIES ON ALL ISSUES. NEXT STEP WILL BE IS-PRODUCED OUTLINE TO BE FILLED IN AS STUDY PROCEEDS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN MARCH 20 SPC DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC OPINION ASPECTS OF CSCE (CSCE/PR), NORWEGIANS OPENED SUBSTANTIVE CONSIDERATION BY WELCOMING U.S. STUDY INITIATIVE. OTHERS WHO SPOKE (ALL ALLIES CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 01573 01 OF 02 211911Z

SAVE GREECE, ICELAND, LUXEMBOURG AND PORTUGAL) ALSO WELCOMED U.S. PROPOSAL. NORWEGIAN REP (SELMER) AGREED IT IMPORTANT TO STUDY TREATMENT OF THREE ITEMS IDENTIFIED BY U.S. IN MARCH 12 SPC MEETING (PARA 2, REF B); IN PARTICULAR TO STRESS THAT CSCE IS

ONLY AN ELEMENT IN THE DETENTE PROCESS NOT A TURNING POINT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THUS THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF EUROPEAN DETENTE REMAIN TO BE SOLVED, AND CBMS ARE OF GREATER POLITICAL THAN MILITARY VALUE IN THIS CONTEXT. HOWEVER, ALLIES SHOULD NOT APPEAR TO BE "POOR LOSERS" BY UNDULY OVEREMPHASIZING NEGATIVE ASPECTS AND LIMITED RESULTS OF CSCE. ALLIES SHOULD STRESS POSITIVE PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE IF CONSISTENT AND PATIENT WORK IS UNDERTAKEN ON REMAINING POINTS OF CONTENTION. NORWEGIAN REP ADDED THAT VARIOUS ASPECTS OF CSCE WILL REQUIRE FLEXIBLE HANDLING IN DIFFERENT NATO COUNTRIES GIVEN VARYING PERSPECTIVE BOTH ON CSCE AND ON DETENTE IN GENERAL.

2. DANISH REP (VILLADSEN) AGREED ALLIES SHOULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO SPEAK WITH A UNANIMOUS VOICE ON ALL CSCE ISSUES, BUT AN ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE TO AVOID CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS BECAUSE OF DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS. DANISH REP REMINDED ALLIES OF CLEAR "PARADOX" BETWEEN WESTERN AGREEMENT THAT CSCE HAS PRODUCED RESULTS WORTHY OF A SUMMIT, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ATTEMPTING TO AVOID EUPHORIA AND REDUCED WESTERN DEFENSE EFFORT. WHILE CSCE HAD MET THE MODEST WESTERN OBJECTIVES SET FOR IT, IT HAD MET SOVIET GOALS IN A MAJOR WAY. THE SOVIETS CAN THUS BE EXPECTED TO IDENTIFY CSCE RESULTS AS LANDMARKS IN EUROPEAN DETENTE WITHOUT HAVING TO CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH IMPACT OF PUBLIC OPINION ON WP DEFENSE EFFORTS. AS FOR CSCE THEMES ALSO REQUIRING ATTENTION, DANISH GOVERNMENT WISHED TO STRESS THAT CSCE HAD BEGUN A MULTILATERAL PHASE OF DISCUSSIONS IN EUROPE WHICH SUPPLEMENTS EARLIER BILATERAL EFFORTS.

3. FRG REP (BOSS) SAID SOVIET AND EES WILL TRY TO FORCE THEIR OWN INTERPRETATION OF CSCE ON WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE NATO SOVIET/EE EXPERTS ANALYZE POSSIBLE EASTERN PROPAGANDA THEMES AND INITIATIVES IN ADVANCE. ALLIES SHOULD ATTEMPT TO PRESENT POSITIVE CSCE ASPECTS WITHOUT PROMPTING EUPHORIA. MOREOVER, ALLIES SHOULD NOT DESCRIBE CSCE AS ELEMENT IN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AS DEFINED BY SOVIETS, BUT RATHER AS A STIMULANT TO PEACEFUL COOPERATION IN EUROPE. ALLIES SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT CONFERENCE RESULTS ARE OF A POLITICAL AND MORAL CHARACTER

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 01573 01 OF 02 211911Z

NOT A LEGAL ONE. FACT THAT CONFERENCE RESULTS CAN ONLY BE MEASURED IN TERMS OF THEIR IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD ALSO BE STRESSED. MOREOVER, ONLY NATO GUARANTEES WESTERN SECURITY; EUROPEAN MILITARY CONFRONTATION REMAINS AND MUST BE THE SUBJECT OF PERSISTENT AND PATIENT EFFORTS. ALLIES HAD THUS ORIGINALLY SOUGHT CONCRETE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES IN CSCE. ALLIES MUST ALSO STRESS IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING NORTH AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO OVERCOME EUROPEAN DIVISIONS. WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION SHOULD REALIZE THAT CSCE WILL NOT CHANGE INTERNAL SYSTEMS IN THE EAST BUT ONLY SET NORMS FOR PEACEFUL COOPERATION. ALLIES SHOULD STRESS, HOWEVER, THAT HUMANITARIAN AND RELATED ISSUES ADDRESSED IN BASKET III CAN NOW BE FORMALLY DEALT WITH AS PART OF EAST-WEST AGENDA. AND, OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO FRG, AS EASTERN PROPAGANDA

STRESSES THE CODIFICATION BY CSCE OF THE EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO, THE ALLIES SHOULD PLACE SIMILAR EMPHASIS ON THE PEACEFUL CHANGE PROVISIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION.

4. CANADIAN REP (ROY) STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF COMMON ALLIED UNDERSTANDING ON TREATMENT OF CSCE ISSUES ALTHOUGH EACH COUNTRY WILL WISH STRESS DIFFERENT THEMES IN DIFFERENT WAYS. ROY AGREED WITH OTHERS' SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING CSCE POINTS REQUIRING STUDY AND SAID CANADA WOULD PLACE PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON CITING PROGRESS IN BASKET III ISSUES.

5. UK REP (SINTON) SAID HMG HOPED ALLIES COULD EXPAND STUDY TO INCLUDE A DISCUSSION OF POST-CSCE SOVIET TACTICS AND POLICY THEMES. SOVIET/EE EXPERTS MIGHT ALSO ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT. IN TREATING CSCE, ALLIES SHOULD BOTH DISCOURAGE EUPHORIA AND STRESS CONTINUING WESTERN CONCERNS. TREATMENT SHOULD NOT BE TOO DEFENSIVE WITH PROPER EMPHASIS PLACED ON OPENINGS FOR INCREASED EAST-WEST UNDERSTANDING. ALLIES SHOULD ALSO STRESS THEMES OF FUTURE IMPLEMENTATION AS ONLY TRUE TEST FOR RESULTS, AND NEED FOR MEANINGFUL MILITARY AS WELL AS POLITICAL DETENTE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 01573 02 OF 02 211921Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1573

6. IN HIS FIRST SPC INTERVENTION, NEW TURKISH DCM (ALP) AGREED THAT EACH ALLY WOULD WISH TO STRESS DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF CSCE ELEMENTS. THEREFORE, SPC STUDY SHOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE TO ENCOMPASS DIFFERENT IDEAS WHILE PROVIDING COMMON UNDERSTANDING FOR DEALING WITH MAJOR ISSUES. IT WOULD ALSO BE IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIES TO PREPARE WESTERN INTERPRETATIONS OF SPECIFIC CSCE RESULTS THEY KNOW THE EAST WILL STRESS, AND TO

DEVELOP REMARKS COVERING SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN DIFFERENT
WAYS FOR EACH OF THE DIFFERENT WESTERN AUDIENCES.

7. ITALIAN REP (SPINELLI) AGREED THAT CSCE SHOULD NOT BE TREATED
AS A MAJOR DETENTE TURNING POINT, BUT AS A BUILDING BLOCK IN
CONTINUING DETENTE PROCESS. HE SUGGESTED THAT FIRST DRAFT OF
CSCE/PR STUDY BE SENT TO ALLIED CSCE DELS FOR COMMENT.

8. BELGIAN REP (BAL) SAID THAT BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT IN BUDAPEST
IN WHICH CSCE WAS PRESENTED AS OF "WATERSHED" IMPORTANCE DEMON-
STRATED NEED FOR PREPARING ALLIED RESPONSE THAT WOULD PLACE
GENEVA RESULTS IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. AMONG SOVIET CLAIMS
ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO COUNTER IS SOVIET ASSERTION THAT
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PAGE 02 NATO 01573 02 OF 02 211921Z

THE "CLIMATE" ESTABLISHED IN GENEVA CONSTITUTES A NEW ELEMENT
INEUROPEAN AFFAIRS. ALLIES SHOULD COUNTER CITING THE FREQUENTLY
DIFFICULT PROGRESS AND THE OCCASIONAL STAGNATION WHICH
CHARACTERIZED THE GENEVA NETOTIATIONS. ALLIES SHOULD ALSO
STRESS THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF ALL CSCE PRINCIPLES AND POINT
TO FACT THAT CSCE AGREEMENT IS NOT LEGALLY BINDING. AS TO
PROCEDURE, BAL SAID VARIOUS APPROACHES SHOULD BE TAILORED TO
SPECIFIC AUDIENCES. STATEMENTS MADE AT THE CSCE SUMMIT OR IN
THE SPRING 1975 MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE MIGHT WELL BE DIFFERENT
FROM THOSE PREPARED FOR DETAILED USE BY THE MASS MEDIA. BAL ALSO
SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES SHOULD PROCEED WITH STUDY ON THE BASIS OF
A GENERAL OUTLINE TO COVER TREATMENT BOTH OF GENERAL CSCE
THEMES AND SPECIFIC ITEMS COVERED IN EACH OF CSCE BASKETS.

9. DUTCH REP (HORAK) AGREED WITH ITALIAN REP THAT ALLIED
DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA SHOULD BE SOMEHOW INVOLVED IN STUDY
AND SUGGESTED POSSIBLE FUTURE MEETING OF NAC WITH CSCE DELEGATION
CHIEFS.

10. FRENCH REP (DE LA FERRIERE) SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT
INSTRUCTIONS, HE WAS CONFIDENT PARIS FAVORED THE U.S.-PROPOSED
STUDY. FRANCE WOULD ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN DEVELOPING A
CATALOGUE OF CSCE ISSUES REQUIRING A COMMON FUND OF KNOWLEDGE
AND GUIDANCE ON WHICH ALL ALLIES CAN DRAW ON IN DEALING
PUBLICLY WITH CSCE. AS TO SPECIFIC THEMES, FRENCH REP
THOUGHT ALLIES SHOULD STRESS DETENTE AS PRODUCT OF BILATERAL
AS WELL AS MULTILATERAL APPROACH. AS TO TACTICS, FRENCH
REP AGREED THAT DIFFERENT APPROACHES MIGHT BE REQUIRED
FOR DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF CSCE. THUS SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS
WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO MINIMIZE CSCE RESULTS FOR FEAR OF
EASTERN REACTION. MORE DETAILED AND BALANCED VIEW COULD BE
PREPARED, HOWEVER, FOR USE BY MASS MEDIA IN EXPLAINING CSCE
RESULTS AND CONSEQUENCES TO PUBLIC OPINION. FRENCH REP SAID
FRANCE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO STRESS IMPORTANCE OF MBFR AS
IMPORTANT KEY TO MILITARY DETENTE IN EUROPE BECAUSE OF FRENCH
NON-PARTICIPATION AT VIENNA.

11. U.S. REP (PEREZ) CLOSED TOUR DE TABLE DRAWING FULLY ON GUIDANCE REF A, AND AGREED TO PROVIDE INTERNATIONAL STAFF WITH U.S. VIEWS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES WHICH COULD BE USED, ALONG WITH THOSE OF OTHERS, TO EXPAND ON STUDY OUTLINE. HE AGREED LATTER
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PAGE 03 NATO 01573 02 OF 02 211921Z

SHOULD TAKE FORM SUGGESTED BY BELGIUM REP.

12. IS WILL DRAW UP SUCH OUTLINE FOR DISCUSSION AT NEXT SPC MEETING, MARCH 25.
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